

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

—IN—

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA,

PRINCIPALLY CATHOLIC.

BY REV. A. A. LAMBING, A. M.

✠ Sit mihi fas audita loqui. ✠

JULY, 1884.

PITTSBURG:

PRINTED BY MYERS, SHINKLE & CO., COR. WOOD STREET AND VIRGIN ALLEY.
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Vol. I.

JULY, 1884.

No. 1.

SALUTATORY.

I, in common with many others, have long felt that far too little interest is manifested in collecting and preserving the records of the past, especially among Catholics. In the beginning of the Church in this country the number of the clergy, upon whom this work would naturally devolve, was so small, and the field of their labors so extensive, that little time could be expended on any other than their strict ministerial duties; and even now, when their numbers have greatly increased, their labors are scarcely less arduous. To some persons, too, this work does not seem of much importance. But to be convinced of the error of such a view, it is only necessary to ask ourselves, what would not the nations, cities and dioceses of old Europe give for a complete detailed history of their past? Yet it is buried in an oblivion from which the patience and industry of man labor in vain to rescue it. These nations began their political and religious existence at a time long anterior to the invention of printing, and all that is known of them are the meagre details that have been preserved by the industry of a few writers at distant intervals.

But with us it is far different; we have every opportunity, having one or more weekly papers in every town, and a Catholic paper in almost every diocese; and posterity can make no excuse for us, if we fail to transmit a detailed history of every part of the country. Nothing could be easier than to commit to writing, not only what is transpiring in the present, but also to search out, criticise and record what has taken place in the past, so far as our negligence has not permitted it to perish, or our thoughtlessness destroyed it, now that many of the pioneers of religion are still among us. Some persons, I am well aware, would think such reading intolerably dry, while others would deem it uninteresting to the public; but for my own part I

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cannot agree with either the one or the other. A movement in the proper direction, however, it appears, has lately been inaugurated, and numbers of Catholic papers are having the local history of their dioceses written up; and let us hope the day has come when our eyes are being opened to the importance of our past history. General history must be compiled from local annals, and the more detailed and accurate the latter, the more correct and satisfactory the former will also be.

Who would not be interested in tracing the history of the Church in this country, where it has multiplied its numbers so rapidly in the last ninety years; who would not be still more interested in the earlier missionary annals? Or, take Western Pennsylvania from the days of Father Bonnechamps, the companion of Céloron, to the present; or only the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny. Eighty years ago there were in these two cities but half a dozen Catholic families, with no priest, no church, no religious, educational or charitable institution, and compare it with the present, when we have 28 churches, with 12 large chapels, 77 priests, and such an array of institutions as I need not pause to enumerate; and when the few souls have grown to about 66,000. Who, though an infidel, could be indifferent to the growth, the vicissitudes and the triumphs of such an organization?

Years ago I came to the conclusion, which the lapse of time has but tended to confirm, that there should be a Catholic historical magazine in this country, in which the early records of religion could be put in a suitable form for permanent preservation. Let us but transport ourselves forward a hundred years, and reflect on the value that would then be attached to such a work, and the debt of gratitude posterity would feel it owed us. And, as I have said, no nation could have a better opportunity. But lest this idea should be attributed to the enthusiasm with which a man is naturally inspired in any matter that he espouses with earnestness, permit me to subjoin the following extracts from some of the letters I have received on the subject of our early history from those who should be capable of attaching a proper value to such a work. The Archbishop of Cincinnati, referring to the preparation of local histories, says: "It is much to be desired that every local pastor should to the best of his power collect all the written and oral reminiscences concerning the early history of his own congregation and the neighboring ones.

Even if in early records or in desultory memoranda, they will be of great service for the future historian; particularly if the authorities on which they have been received be likewise given. But the pastor will do a much greater work if he will write them or have them written out in such a form that they may be published in the neighboring Catholic paper, or even in a secular journal. They will be interesting and edifying reading; they will stimulate others to collect and publish similar memoirs, and they will give an opportunity for criticising, and either correcting or confirming, by comparison of evidence." The Bishop of Cleveland writes: "I deeply regret that so few have preceded you in this line, and hold it as a burning shame to the Catholics of the United States that the history of the early pioneers of the faith is yet to be written. * * * Who will write it, and save from permanent loss the materials so rapidly passing away in the deaths of the old who can tell so much?" And the librarian of one of the public libraries of an eastern city, follows in the same strain: "It has always seemed to me a lasting pity and burning shame that so much matter of historical value should be annually lost forever to our Church through ignorance or lack of interest in the past of our people. Some means should be devised to collect and preserve in each State or Archdiocese at least, if not in each diocese, this matter which will one day be of priceless value to the historian."

While such a publication would not encroach on the province of any other periodical, it would, in the true sense of the word, "supply a want long felt." My idea of the plan of such a work would be something like this. Besides an editor there should be at least one person, whether lay or cleric, in each diocese, to furnish an abstract of whatever of interest transpired in that diocese. The magazine should contain the following departments: One for the discussion of matters relating to our early Catholic history; one for such questions of the day as required to be treated at some length; one for the publication of such valuable documents relating to the early annals of the Church in our midst as have never appeared, or have only been printed privately or in small editions; one for brief notes on matters of interest that should be put on record but need not be treated at length; one for inquiries and replies; and, finally, it would be well to add a continuous index of the articles on matters of historical interest as they appear in the various Catholic or other periodicals of the country from one issue of the magazine to another. While this idea, like first thoughts generally, may wear an air of

crudeness, it may yet be found on examination to possess the germ of something practical. But I wish to say that I do not propose to have this work fill the place of such a periodical. The title of this pamphlet explains its present scope. The periodical of which I speak must be guided by a stronger hand and a clearer head than mine. My ambition is to *see* the work done, not to *do* it.

But it is my intention, if sufficient interest be taken in my labors to justify me in continuing them, to publish a pamphlet similar to this from time to time, and if possible, every three months. While it will not profess to be a religious publication in the strictest sense of the word, its principal object will yet be to preserve in a permanent form what I may be able to learn of the early history of Catholicity in this part of the State. Inasmuch, however, as researches in civil history are frequently necessary to a proper understanding of the place which the Church occupies and the influence which she exerts or the obstacles she has to surmount; and inasmuch, too, as articles of this kind are interesting and instructive to large numbers of readers who could not obtain the information at all, or if they did it could only be after much reading and research, they will be admitted to a limited extent, but not so far as to destroy the distinctive character of the work. Another point which, it is thought, will commend itself to reflecting minds, is that references to the authorities consulted will, as a rule, be always given. A further object which I have in view is that of collecting and preserving such information as will enable me in due time to bring out a more perfect edition of the History of the Church in these parts, which it is well known, I published a few years ago.

Different persons will of course form different opinions of this undertaking; it is a privilege to which they are entitled, and of which I would not deprive them even if it were in my power. The talent for historical research is not one of the highest order, I am well aware, neither is coal or iron the most precious of minerals; yet deprive the world of them and I need not enlarge on the consequences. Besides, I have always held it to be more noble in itself, more useful to posterity and more becoming an intellectual being to collect and transmit knowledge that enlightens the mind, than it is to amass and leave to others "soul-seducing gold," that hardens the heart.

With these remarks I shall commit my venture to its fate, conscious that while some will censure others may praise; while some will pity my folly others may commend my industry.

Céloron's Expedition Down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers in 1749.¹

[A paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, December 13, 1883, revised and annotated.]

Few places in the United States have a more interesting history than the spot upon which the city of Pittsburg now stands; and this interest is shared in a measure by other localities in the western part of the State, as Kittanning, Franklin and Erie. Lying on the line of communication between Canada and the Valley of the Mississippi, they possessed a special interest for the French, and being in the territory claimed by both that nation and the English, they were destined in the nature of things, to become the scenes of the struggle between the rival nations for ultimate possession. To those who are

¹I shall premise by saying that, while some persons may regard the number of notes appended to this article as to some extent a useless parade of research, and calculated to give it an air of pedantry, I have inserted them for a two-fold purpose; that of illustrating the text, and of giving such an account of places, &c., as I may be able to refer back to in future historical articles. But I have said little of some persons, &c., because, being well known, information regarding them can readily be had from other sources; and of others, because I could learn but little of them. In some instances I have translated the French names of lakes and rivers into English; in others they are left unchanged. The notes, too, will be found to refer mainly to this portion of our State, in which I am most interested. I may further remark that, as the Europeans of whatever nationality who came to the New World were obliged to spell Indian names phonetically, it is not to be wondered at that the same tribe or natural object is differently named by different writers. Each nation would naturally give the letters used or the combination of letters the sound they had in the language of that nation; and, not only so, but as individuals of the same nation are not equally endowed with the faculty of perceiving different shades of sound, they would be found to spell the same name differently. To this we are to attribute such varieties as we have, for example, in the name of the tribe of Indians most commonly called the Shawnees, mentioned further on, and to which the reader referred.

not familiar with our early history, it may be a matter of surprise that the route to the Mississippi by way of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers was not discovered and followed at an earlier day. But they must be informed that the country lying south and southeast of Lake Ontario was inhabited by the fierce and treacherous Iroquois,² or "Five Nations," who were the terror of both the French and Indians from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the upper lakes. In addition to their acknowledged prowess, which won for them the proud title of "the Romans of America," their confederation rendered them still more powerful, and the fire-arms with which they were furnished anterior to 1621, by the Dutch of New York, gave them an advantage which no other Indians possessed. The Marquis de

²"Among all the barbarous nations of the continent," says Mr. Parkman, "the Iroquois of New York stand paramount. Elements which among other tribes were crude, confused and embryotic, were among them systematized and concentered into an established polity. The Iroquois was the Indian of Indians. A thorough savage, yet a finished and developed savage, he is perhaps an example of the highest elevation which man can reach without emerging from his primitive condition of the hunter."—*The Jesuits in North America*, p. XLVII. "The name *Iroquois* is purely French, and is formed from the term *Hiro* or *Hero*, which means *I have said*,—with which these Indians close all their addresses, as the Latins did of old with their *dixi*,—and of *Koue*, which is a cry sometimes of sadness, when it is prolonged, and sometimes of joy, when it is pronounced shorter. Their proper name is Agonnonsionni, which means *cabin-makers*, because they build them much more solid than other Indians."—Charlevoix, *History of New France*, Mr. J. G. Shea's translation, vol. II. p. 189. In his notes to Father Joques' *Novum Belgium—New Netherlands*—Mr. Shea gives a somewhat different derivation of the term remarking: "The name they gave themselves was Kagingehage or Gannieguchage or Agnieneguronon, the termination *hage* or *ronon* meaning *people*. The name of the tribe was Ganniwagwari, meaning *she bear*, which the neighboring tribes of the Algonquin tongue translated to Maqua, the source of our word Mohawk. The Mohawks with the Oneidos (Onneiout), Onondagas (Onontagué), Cayugas (Goio-gouen), and Senecas (Tsonnontouan), formed a league called in the Mohawk language, Hotinnonchiendi, in the Seneca Hodenosaunee, and meaning, 'They form a cabin,' " (pp. 48, 49). Mr. Samuel G. Drake gives still another account of this famous confederation: "The Mohawks, sometimes called Wabingi, are said to have been the oldest of the confederacy, and that the Onayauts (Oneidas) were the first that joined them by putting themselves under their protection. The Onondagos were the next, then the Tenontowanos, or Sinikers, (Senecas), then the Cuiukguos, (Cayugas). The Tuscaroras, from Carolina, joined them about 1712, but were not formally admitted into the confederacy until about ten years after that. The addition of this new tribe gained them the name of 'the Six Nations,' according to most writers; but it will appear that they were called the Six Nations long before the last named period."—*Drake's Indians of North America*, p. 500.

Tracy,³ Lieutenant-General of Canada, penetrated their country in the autumn of 1666, burned a number of their more important villages, and forced them for a time to pay at least a semblance of respect to the power of the white man. But they soon recovered from the shock, and continued their depredations until Count Frontenac,⁴ Governor-General of Canada, again entered their domain at the head of his army, in 1696, and inflicted a blow on them from which they never entirely recovered. Thus the way was prepared for the navigation of the upper St. Lawrence,⁵ Lake Ontario,⁶ and the Niagara⁷ river

³Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, was born in France about the year 1603, and, writes Mother Mary of the Incarnation, a nun of Canada, "was one of the largest men I ever saw." He came to Canada in June, 1665 with the powers of viceroy; entered the Mohawk country, as stated in the text, and returned to France where he died; but I have not learned the date or place.—Charlevoix, vol. III.; Parkman's *Old Regime in Canada*.

⁴Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, was born in France about the year 1620; entered the army at an early age, and was appointed Governor-General of Canada, arriving in September, 1672. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, but was inclined to be arbitrary and prejudiced. He encouraged Marquette, Joliet and La Salle in their explorations, and was recalled to France in 1682. But when Canada was on the verge of ruin he was sent out again, in 1689, maintained a vigorous policy, repulsed the English from Quebec in 1690, penetrated the Iroquois country six years later, and died at Quebec in November, 1698.—Parkman's *Frontenac*; Charlevoix, *New France*.

⁵Jacques Cartier called the St. Lawrence "the River of Hochelaga," or, "the Great River of Canada."—Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 183. The name was first given to the bay only, because Cartier entered it on the 10th of August, 1535, the feast of St. Lawrence.—Charlevoix, vol. I. p. 115. On Marquette and Hennipin's map, drawn in 1687, it is called the River of Cataracoui or the River of the Iroquois.—Sydney Breeze, *Early History of Illinois*, p. 98.

⁶"Ontara in Huron and Iroquois means a lake; Ontariio, beautiful lake."—Charlevoix, vol. II. p. 84, note. In Marquette and Hennipin's map it is called Lake Frontenac or Ontario.—*Early History of Illinois*, p. 98. It was also called Lake St. Louis.—Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 143, note. In Father Joques' *Novum Belgium*, above referred to, it is partially represented on De Laet's map, and named Lac des Yroquois.

⁷The Jesuit Father Regueneau in his *Relation* of 1648, calls the Niagara river and falls, the Onguiaarha. It was also named the river of the Neutrals from the tribe of Indians living north and west of it between the Hurons and the Iroquois, and which remained neutral in the wars of these nations.—Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. 143, note. The early presence of Catholic missionaries in all parts of the American continent, and the evidences of their presence which they have left in the names of places, remind us of the remark of Mr. Bancroft: "The religious zeal of the French bore the Cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and looked wistfully toward the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor." *History of the United States*, (Centenary Edition,) vol. II. p. 308.

without fear of serious molestation ; and the route by the way of the Allegheny⁸ and Ohio⁹ rivers—which were known to both the French and the Indians by the common name of the Ohio, or the “ Beautiful River ”—became safe and practicable.

⁸It is well known that the early French regarded the Allegheny and Ohio rivers as but one stream, and the English also looked upon them in the same light at least to a point as far north as Kittanning. The name given them by the French, “ La Belle Rivière,” “ the Beautiful River,” is but a translation of the Seneca name of the streams, *Ho-he-yu*, changed by both the English and French at a later day into the present name Ohio. As to the word Allegheny, says the compiler of the *History of Venango County*, (p. 98), “ There are several theories given for the origin of the word *Allegheny*. Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, sent among the western Indians in 1758, made a statement that Allegheny was the Delaware name for the Ohio. Prond, in his *History of Pennsylvania*, published in 1797, adopts the opinion of Post in regard to it. The Lenni Lenape, in their earliest tradition, speak of the Allegewi, whom they met on the banks of the Mississippi, and this is one of the theories that is advanced for the origin of the name Allegheny river and mountains. Schoolcraft, who is generally regarded as standard authority on Indian history, says: ‘ The banks of this stream were in ancient times occupied by an important tribe, now unknown, who preceded the Iroquois and Delawares. They were called Alleghans by Colden in the London edition of his work, and the river is named Allegan by Lewis Evans in his celebrated map of 1755.’ Evans also states that the Shawanese called the Allegheny or Ohio Palawa-Kunki. Schoolcraft renders the word Palawa-Thoriki. The name given the river by the Delawares is more properly rendered Tallegawe, and in this form it appeared in many of the early prints. Some authorities allege that the word Allegheny was applied to the mountains that now bear the name, by the first English settlers ; that they derived it from the Indians, and that it was supposed to mean *Endless*.” Rev. John Heckewelder in his *Indian Nations*, (p. 48) says: “ Those people, as I was told, called themselves Talligewi or Alligewi. Colonel John Gibson, however, a gentleman who has a thorough knowledge of the Indians, and speaks several of their languages, is of the opinion that they were not called Talligewi, but Alligewi, and it would seem that he is right, from the traces of their name which still remain in the country, the Allegheny river and mountains having indubitably been named from them. The Delawares still call the former Alligewi Sipi, the river of the Alligewi.” The same writer, in his *Names which the Lenni Lenape gave to rivers, &c.*, pp. 13, 14, says: “ The Allegheny, corrupted from *Allegewi*, is the name of a race of Indians said to have dwelt along the river of that name, and in *Allegewinink*, i. e., all the country west of the Alleghenies, drained by the tributaries of the Ohio.” My friend, the late Robert W. Smith, of Kittanning, gives the following interesting letter on the subject in his *History of Armstrong County*, (p. 156). It was written in reply to an inquiry made by him, and is perhaps the most satisfactory explanation of the name to be found anywhere:

“ THE WATKINSON LIBRARY, HARTFORD, CONN., Dec. 4, 1877.

DEAR SIR:—Mr. F. Vinton, of Princeton, encloses to me your request for the etymology of the Shawano name for the Allegheny river, which you write Palawu-thep-iki. This name properly belongs to land, or some locality, *on* the river, or near

As early as the winter of 1669-70, or in the spring of the latter year, Robert Cavalier de La Salle,¹⁰ penetrated to the upper waters of the Allegheny, and descending that stream and the Ohio as far as the falls, where the city of Louisville, Kentucky, now stands, returned. But he has left only the merest reference to this expedition

it. *Palawa*, otherwise written *Pelwa*, is the Shawano name for the wild turkey; Miami, *Pilauh*; Illinois, *Pirewa*. *Pelewa-sepi*, or, as a Shawano often pronounces it, *Pelwa-thepi*, Turkey River place, or country. Whether the Allegheny was so named because of the abundance of wild turkeys, or from the turkey tribe (Unaláchtgo) of the Delawares, I cannot certainly say, but the former is the more probable.

Truly yours,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL."

The allusion to wild turkeys as the originators of the name of our river will not be thought improbable, if we remember that at least twenty-eight years after Pittsburg took its present designation, Judge Breckenridge could write in the first number of the *Pittsburg Gazette*, which appeared July 29, 1786, such words as these in regard to Smoky Island and Monument Hill: "At the distance of four or five hundred yards from the head of the Ohio is a small island, lying to the northwest side of the river, at the distance of about seventy yards from the shore. It is covered with wood, and at the lowest part is a lofty hill famous for the number of wild turkeys which inhabit it."—*Craig's History of Pittsburg*, p. 190. On *The Historical Map of Pennsylvania* the upper Allegheny is named *Palawutheptki*, and the lower Allegheny *Palawuthepi*.

⁹The Ohio is quite as rich in Indian and French names as the Allegheny; for, besides the name Ohio, already discussed, there are nearly a dozen others. La Salle, who descended the river, as we shall presently see, gave it the name of St. Louis, as we learn from a map drawn by Franquelin, in the year 1684, which Parkman calls, "the most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of North America." On this map it is called the River St. Louis, or the Chucagoa, or the Casquinampogamou; and one of its principal branches is called the Ohio or Olighin. In the official document drawn up by La Salle on taking possession of the valley of the Mississippi, which was executed at the mouth of that stream in April, 1682, he names the Ohio; "the great river St. Louis, otherwise called the Ohio," and in the same document it is called the Olighin-Sipuo, and the Chukagona. In Marquette's map, which Parkman calls "a rude sketch," the Ohio is laid down as the Ouabouskiaou.—*La Salle*, pp. 456, 487. In the copy of Marquette's map given in the *Early History of Illinois*, a stream that would appear to correspond to the Ohio is marked with a name, which, as well as I can make it out, is Sabequingo. On the map of Marquette and Hennipin, in the same volume the lower Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, and that stream, which are given as one, are named the Rivière d' Oubache ou S. Heronyme (the Wabash or St. Jerome's river), and the Ohio above that point, the Ohio ou la Belle Rivière. From this and the fact that, in Kipp's *Early Jesuit Missions*, (Father Marest's narrative), where the Ohio is named the Ouabache, it is evident that this name was only applied to that part of the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash, and that, consequently, the early explorers regarded the Ohio as a branch of the Wabash, instead of the Wabash

in his writings,¹¹ so that for a time many denied it altogether, though later investigations have placed it beyond reasonable doubt.

The first to leave a definite account of these rivers and draw a map of them was Céloron, in his expedition of 1749.

I shall not pause to discuss the rival claims of the French and English to the territory west of the Allegheny mountains; but shall merely say that in the middle of the last century it was claimed by the former nation by right of discovery, and by the latter as forming a part of the grants of the Crown to the original proprietaries. Although here and there a sturdy pioneer or trader had built his cabin, the English had not as yet made any permanent settlements west of the mountains, but under the auspices of the Ohio Company¹² they were contemplating it.

In order to counteract the designs of the English, the Marquis de la Galissonnière,¹³ Governor-General of Canada, dispatched Captain

as a branch of the Ohio. In the map accompanying Shea's *Charlevoix*, it is called *L'Oye ou La Belle Rivière*. Mr. Heckewelder, in his *Indian Names, &c.*, (pp. 34-36) referred to above, labors at length to prove that the name *Ohio* was corrupted by the early traders from Delaware Indian words expressing certain qualities of that stream; but that derivation is not accepted, as the name *Ohio* is evidently of Seneca origin. The Delaware name of the river was *Kit-hanne*, (*Minsi Delaware, Gicht-hanne*) signifying, *main stream*.

¹⁰So well known an explorer as La Salle needs but a short notice. Robert Cavelier de La Salle, was born in Rouen, France, in November, 1643. He was a short time with the Jesuits, but withdrew, and came to Canada in 1666, from which time his life was given to exploring the great lakes and the Mississippi with its tributaries, till he was killed in Texas, March 19, 1687. For an estimate of his character and qualities see Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 406, 407; also *Charlevoix*, vol. IV. pp. 94, 95.

¹¹Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 22-25.

¹²In 1748, Thos. Lee, one of His Majesty's council in Virginia, formed the design of effecting settlements in the wilds west of the Allegheny mountains, through the agency of an association. With a view of carrying this plan into execution, he associated twelve others with him, two of whom were Laurence and Augustine Washington, brothers of the general, who, with Mr. Hanbury, a merchant of London, he organized into The Ohio Company. A petition was presented to the king in behalf of the company, which was approved, and five hundred thousand acres of land, on the south side of the Ohio river between the mouth of the Monongahela and the Great Kanawha, were granted to it.—*History of Western Pennsylvania*, App. p. 3.

¹³Poland Michel Barrin, Marquis de la Galissonnière, was born at Rochfort, France, November 11, 1693; rose through different grades to that of admiral; was appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1747,—that province being under the management of the navy department,—was energetic in maintaining the interests of France; returned to his native land late in 1749; and died at Nemour, October 26, 1756.

Bienville de Céloron,¹⁴ a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, in command of a detachment composed of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenakis,¹⁵ with orders to descend the Ohio and take possession of the country in the name of the French king. The principal officers under him were De Contreccœur,¹⁶ who afterwards built Fort Duquesne, Coulon de Villiers,¹⁷ and Joncaire.¹⁸

¹⁴I have not yet succeeded in learning more of Céloron than is contained in the text, however interesting it would be to know something of his previous and subsequent career.

¹⁵The Abenakis were a tribe of Indians originally from Maine; but many of those who were converted by the early missionaries came to Canada to make their homes there, the better to practise their religion and be under the protection of the French. Those who accompanied this expedition were doubtless of that number.

¹⁶In 1668 concessions of land were made to certain officers in Canada, among whom was Anthony Pecody, Sieur de Contreccœur.—Charlevoix, vol. III. p. 112. What relation he was to the officer here mentioned, or whether any, I have not been able to learn. In the *Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne* (p. 22), the officer here mentioned is called "Monsieur Pierre Claude de Contreccœur, Esquire, Sieur de Beaudry, Captain of Infantry, Commander-in-Chief of the forts of Duquesne, Presqu' Isle and the Rivière au Bœufs." He was in command of Fort Niagara at the time of which we are now speaking; but he afterwards succeeded to the command of the detachment which had before belonged to M. Saint Pierre, and descending the Allegheny river to the spot where Pittsburg now stands, in April, 1754, drove out the colonial troops under Captain William Trent (Ensign Ward commanding), built Fort Duquesne, and remained for a time in command. It was formerly a question whether he was in command of the fort at the time of the battle of the Monongahela, (Braddock's Defeat), July 9, 1755; but the discovery of the *Baptismal Register* of the fort has forever settled that point. In the *Register*, (p. 28), is found the entry of the interment of Monsieur Lionel Daniel (Mr. Shea writes me that it is not Leonard, as in the *Register*), Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeux, Captain of Infantry, Commander of Fort Duquesne, and of the Army. See also Mr. Charles McKnight's *Captain Jack*, pp. 471-473. This also refutes the assertion of the author of *Braddock's Expedition*, p. 224, note, who says that Contreccœur was succeeded by Dumas as commander of the fort early in 1756. The last date on which the name Contreccœur is found in the *Baptismal Register* (p. 22) is March 2, 1755; and the first appearance of that of M. Damas is (p. 31), September 18th of the same year. The number of entries in the *Register* is so few, indeed, that they cannot be taken as an authority in fixing dates with precision; but where a name is mentioned it is always a high authority. What became of M. Contreccœur after his retiring from Fort Duquesne, I have not been able to learn.

¹⁷There were seven brothers of this family, six of whom lost their lives in the Canadian wars. This one commanded an expedition against Fort Necessity in June, 1754. He was afterwards taken prisoner by the English at the capture of Fort Niagara.—*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vol. II. p. 130; *The Olden Time*, vol. II. p. 152.

We are mainly indebted to Hon. O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, N. Y., for what is at present known of this important expedition. In a learned article which he contributed to *The Magazine of American History*, (vol. II. p. 129-150,) he informs us that, while on a visit to Paris, he had the good fortune to discover in the archives of that city the original journals of Céloron and Father Bonnechamps,¹⁹ and also a map drawn by the latter, on which the course of the expedition, the Indian villages, and the places where the leaden plates were deposited are designated; and which serves as a fitting illustration of the route. Father Bonnechamps styles himself a "Jesuit mathematician," and, as Mr. Marshall remarks, "seems to have been the chaplain as well as a kind of sailing master of the expedition, keeping a daily record of the courses and distances traveled, the latitudes and longitudes of the principal points, with occasional brief notes of the most important occurrences." (p. 130.)

I cannot but believe that a brief account of this expedition will prove interesting to the people of Western Pennsylvania, and the more so as I have reason to think, from the difficulty I experienced in procuring a copy of the magazine containing Mr. Marshall's article, that it has not yet come within reach of the greater part of our people, although it was printed more than six years ago. The burying

¹⁸Of the elder Joncaire, the father of the one referred to in this place, Mr. Parkman says: "The history of Joncaire was a noteworthy one. The Senecas had captured him sometime before, (the year 1700), tortured his companions to death, and doomed him to the same fate. As a preliminary torment an old chief tried to burn a finger of the captive in the bowl of his pipe, on which Joncaire knocked him down. If he had begged for mercy, their hearts would have been flint; but the warrior crowd were so pleased with this proof of courage that they adopted him as one of their tribe, and gave him an Iroquois wife. He lived among them for many years, and gained a commanding influence, which proved very useful to the French."—*Frontenac*, p. 441. He died in 1740, leaving two sons, Chabert Joncaire, and Philip Clauzonne Joncaire, both of whom were in the French service and were in Céloron's expedition, although Mr. Marshall speaks of but one in several places where the name is mentioned.—*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vol. II. p. 140. He was on the Allegheny for the next two years at least, and was at Logstown on May 18, 1751.—*Hist. West. Penna*; App. p. 26. But which of the two brothers is meant I have not been able to learn. Both were taken prisoners at the capture of Fort Niagara. The name is variously spelled by early writers, as John Cœur, Jean Cœur, Joncœur, Joncaire, &c.

¹⁹I have not as yet been able to learn anything of this noted Jesuit missionary, but hope soon to be able to satisfy both my own and the reader's curiosity.

of leaden plates containing inscriptions, as a means of taking possession of new territory, which was peculiar to the French in this country, appears to have been more extensively adopted in this than in any other expedition; a circumstance that will, doubtless, impart additional interest to the narrative. I shall give a condensed account of the expedition from Mr. Marshall, and, having done so, shall remark on certain inaccuracies in his article, and advance one or two theories of my own.

Provided with a number of leaden plates, which were about eleven inches long, seven and a half inches wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick, they left La Chine,²⁰ near Montreal,²¹ on the 15th of June, 1749, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario. Coasting along the eastern and southern shores of the lake, they reached Fort Niagara on the 6th of July. Pursuing their course, they arrived at a point on the southeastern shore of Lake Erie,²² near the spot where the village of Barcelona, N. Y., now stands, where they disembarked on the 16th. By means of Chautauqua²³ creek, a portage,

²⁰On the 9th of July, 1669, La Salle set out on an expedition through the lakes with a view of discovering a western pass to China (French, La Chine); but after proceeding some distance he returned, and his place on the St. Lawrence was out of derision called La Chine, a name which it bears to this day.—Charlevoix, vol. III., p. 122 note. Another evidence that those who do the most for their fellow-men are often better remembered in the mistakes they make than in the good they do.

²¹Called by the Indians *Hochelaga*. The first white man to visit it was Jacques Cartier, October 2, 1535. It was a Huron-Iroquois town, as the name indicates. The Seneca for the French name *Montreal* was *Dohkia gi-ga*. The present island and city took their name from that of Mont Royal, which Cartier at the time of his visit gave the mountain at the foot of which the town stood.—Charlevoix, vol. I. pp. 118, 119.

²²It takes its name from the Erie tribe of Indians who at one time dwelt south of it, and were also called Erigas, Eriehronon, and Rignechronon, and who were probably the Carantouans, of Champlain.—Parkman's *Jesuits*, p. XLVI., note. The tribe, and, after it, the lake, were also called *The Cats*, from the number of wild cats which were found in their country.—Charlevoix, vol. II. p. 266, note. It was called the lake of Conti by La Salle out of gratitude to his friend the Count de Conti.—Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 116, note. On Laet's map it is called Grand Lac-On Marquette and Hennipin's map it is called Lake Erie or Lake of the Cats.

²³"The name Chatacoin and Chatakouin, as spelled by Céloron in his journal, and Tchadakoin, as inscribed on the plate, and Tjadakoin, as spelled by Bonnechamps on his map, are all variations of the modern name Chautauqua." Early authors will be found to have written it differently; as, Shatakoin, Jadachque, Cahdocoin, Chaud-dauk-wa, and Jah-dah-gwah. It is said to mean "a place where a child was swept away by the waves;" "where the fish was taken out;" "The foggy place;" "The elevated place;" while the configuration of the lake would favor another interpretation, "a sack tied in the middle."—*Mag. Amer. Hist.* vol. II. pp. 135-138.

Chautauqua Lake and Conewango²⁴ creek, they came, on the 29th, to the Allegheny river, near the spot now occupied by the town of Warren, Pa. The first of the leaden plates was buried at this point, "at the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the river Oyo and of the Chanougon, not far from the village of Kanaougon." (p. 136.) So far as is known this plate has not been found. The official record of the burying of the plate, and the entry in Céloron and Father Bonnechamps' journals are simple statements of the facts; but the inscription, which was nearly the same for every plate, may be a matter of curiosity. It is as follows: "In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis the XV., King of France, we, Céloron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonnière, Governor-General of New France,²⁵ to re-establish tranquility in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate of lead at the confluence of the Ohio and Chautauqua, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise Belle Rivière, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix la Chapelle." (p. 132.)

As the expedition proceeded down the river, Céloron endeavored to strengthen the attachment of the Indians to the cause of France, but he soon found that all along the Allegheny there was a strong bias in their minds in favor of the English.²⁶

²⁴On the plate buried by Céloron at the confluence of this stream with the Allegheny, it is called the Kanaaiagon; but in his journal he spells it Chanougon; while Father Bonnechamps writes it Kananougon. There are also other forms of the word.—*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, p. 136-140. "Conewango is corrupted from *Guninga*, signifying, *they have been gone a long time, they stay a long time.*" The etymology is: *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Gu-nax-u*, it is long. *Gu-ni*, a long while. *Gu-na-gi-u*, he stays long."—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, &c., p. 21.

²⁵The name *New France* was not equivalent to our *British-America*, as some suppose, but embraced all the territory from the Atlantic Ocean,—with its coast islands,—to the western extremity of Lake Superior, and from Hudson Bay to a line running through the northern part of the United States from Maine to Minnesota; but none of the boundaries were accurately defined.

²⁶At the mouth of French creek were found several English traders whom the French forced to retire, among whom was John Frazer, a Scotch gunsmith who had

"After passing the Rivière aux Bœufs,"²⁷ says Mr. Marshall, "and another on the left,"²⁸ the expedition reached a bend in the river about nine miles below, on the eastern bank of which lay a large boulder, nearly twenty-two feet in length, by fourteen in breadth, on the inclined face of which were inscriptions in Indian workmanship, representing by various symbols the triumphs of the race in war and in the chase. It was regarded by the natives attached to the expedition as an Indian god, and held in superstitious veneration. It was a well known landmark, and did not fail to arrest the attention of the French. Céloron deemed it a fitting point at which to bury his second leaden plate." (p. 141.) This rock is yet known as "the Indian god," but the plate deposited there has not been found.²⁹

been dwelling there for several years and whose house the French took possession of later, where George Washington found them in December, 1753, while he met the same Frazer at the mouth of Turtle creek, from which the French also drove him the year following.—*History of Venango County*, p. 42.

²⁷In the early French archives this stream is called the Rivière aux Bœufs; and in the *Pennsylvania Archives* the name is simply translated into English, "as the Beef river," or "the Buffalo river." Buffaloes are said to have been found in the valley of the stream by the early traders and explorers, and hence the name. It was also called the Venango by the English, a name corrupted from the Seneca term, *In-un-gah*, from which the word Weningo, and later Venango doubtless sprung. The Rev. Timothy Alden speaking of the derivation of this word says: "This name is given to French creek by the Senecas in consequence of a certain figure carved on the bark of a tree near its bank, noticed at an early period after they came to this region, and expressive of the representation made by the rude sculpture; but an explanation of which delicacy forbids us to record." The present name French creek appears to have been given the stream by George Washington on the occasion of his visit to the French, referred to above.—*History of Venango County*, p. 97; *Washington's Journal*. On *The Historical Map of Pennsylvania* it is called also the Innungau. "The Delawares called French creek *Attike*. The name was sometimes written *Onenge*." Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, &c., p. 46.

²⁸This stream was East Sandy creek, which empties into the Allegheny about five miles below French Creek. In Delaware *Legawwi-mahini*.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, &c., p. 40.

²⁹Some time after reading this paper before the Historical Society a friend who had seen a copy of it, wrote me that this plate had been found about the year 1832, by a man named Andrew Shall; and after exchanging a few letters with him and proposing a number of questions as to the time, place, circumstances, &c., to which such explicit replies were given as left no doubt in my mind regarding the discovery, I stated the matter in print. But an opportunity having been afforded me lately of investigating the matter still more thoroughly I find that what he discovered was not the plate here referred to. Whatever some persons may think, I make no hesitation in correcting an error that might lead others astray.

"From this station," continues Mr. Marshall, "Céloron sent Joncaire forward to Attigné the next day, it being an Indian settlement of some importance on the left bank of the river, between eight and nine leagues further down, containing twenty-two cabins. Before reaching Attigné they passed a river three or four leagues from the Aux Bœufs, the confluence of which with the Allegheny is described as 'very beautiful,' and a league further down another, having on its upper waters some villages of Loups³⁰ and Iroquois." (p. 142.) There are some discrepancies here and in other places in Mr. Marshall's article, as to the distances, which it is impossible to explain; for while Céloron's record of the depositing of the plate at "the Indian god" says: "Buried a leaden plate * * four leagues below the Rivière aux Bœufs," we are here told that after leaving the Indian god "they passed a river *three* or four leagues from Aux Bœufs." The first of these streams was doubtless the Big Sandy, which empties into the Allegheny from the west, at a point almost opposite to the celebrated rock. The second, which is said to have been "a league further down," must also have emptied from the west, for, although no stream is marked on Father Bonnechamps' map to correspond to it, yet we have the Indian villages there on the right bank. This stream must have been Scrubgrass creek, which falls into the river about seven miles below the other. Other streams are marked on Father Bonnechamps' map, all of which flow from the east, among which are the Rivière au Fiel, which must have been the Clarion³¹ river, which empties into the Allegheny eighty-three miles above Pittsburg, the Rivière au Vermillion, which was doubtless

³⁰The statement made further on in the text that the Loups (the French name for wolves), were a branch of the Delawares, called by the English Munseys, appears to be incorrect, as the following goes to show. The Loups are called Agotsaganen by the Iroquois. "These" says Mr. Shea, "were the Mohegans. The term Agotsaganen was applied to other tribes of the Algonquin family. Attempts have been made to construct a supposed great Delaware confederacy, reaching from the Hudson to the Potomac, but this story is quite recent, and its growth is curious. The petty tribe of Delawares, with whom the Dutch seem to have had no extended relations, were enemies of the Minquas. By confounding the Minquas who lived on the lower Susquehanna with the Mohawks, the Delawares were made to extend to the river of the latter tribe."—Father Joques' *New Netherlands*, notes, pp. 49, 50.

³¹The Clarion river is called Toby's Creek in some early maps. It was designated by the Delawares *Gawunsch-hanne*, i. e., *brier stream*, the stream whose banks are overgrown with green briars.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, &c., p. 19.

Red Bank³² and another which is not named, but which may be regarded as Mahoning.³³ The expedition passed other streams not marked on Father Bonnechamp's map, the principal of which were Pine creek,³⁴ Cowanshannock,³⁵ and Crooked creek,³⁶ which are respectively fifty-one, forty-eight and thirty-eight miles above Pittsburg.

"Attigué," says Mr. Marshall, "was probably on or near the Kiskiminetas³⁷ river, which falls into the south side of the Allegheny about twenty-five miles above Pittsburg. It is called the river

³²"The Indian name of Red Bank was Lycamahoning, derived from Lycoming and Mahoning—the former corrupted from *Legau-hanne*, a *sandy stream*; the latter corrupted from *Mahonink*, signifying, *where there is a lick*. *Mahoni* in the Delaware language means a *diminutive lick*, and *Mahon-hanne*, a *stream flowing from or near a lick*. Lycamahoning, then, must mean a *sandy stream flowing from a lick*, that is, *Sandy Lick*, which was the name of the stream as late as 1792, from its source to its mouth, according to Reading Howell's map of that year." How or why it is called Red Bank has not been ascertained, unless we suppose it is from the appearance of the clay on its banks. *History of Armstrong County*, p. 186.

³³There are several streams of this name in the State, it being the common name for rivers and places in the Delaware county where there were saline deposits or efflorescence, provincially called *licks*, from the fact of deer and elk frequenting them and *licking* the saltish earth. Mahoning is corrupted from *Mahonink*, signifying, *where there is a lick*, or *at a lick*. *Mahoni* is Delaware for a *lick*, *Mahonity* signifies a *diminutive lick*, and *Mahon-hanne*, a *stream flowing from or near a lick*.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, p. 29.

³⁴In Delaware *Cuven-hanne*, i. e., *pine stream*, a stream flowing through pine lands. Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, p. 38.

³⁵The derivation of this name, though not given in Heckewelder, would seem to be the same as that of Clarion and Pine Creek combined, given above. Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, pp. 19, 38.

³⁶In Delaware, *Woak-hanne*, i. e., *crooked stream*, the stream with large bends. From *Woak-tschin-ni*, to bend, *Woak-tsche-u*, *crooked*.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, p. 23.

³⁷The village of Attigué will claim our attention further on. "Kiskiminetas," says Heckewelder, "is corrupted from *Gieschgumanito*, signifying *make daylight*; its etymology is *Gischgu*,—*day*; *gisch-gue*,—*to-day*; *gieschapen*,—*it is day-break*; *manitoon*,—*to make*. It was probably the word of command given by a warrior to his comrades at night, to break up camp and resume the journey or war path." It is said in McCullough's *Narrative* the Indians called this river *Keeak-ksheman-nit-toos*, signifying *Cut Spirit*; but Heckewelder's etymology and definition are more satisfactory.—*History Armstrong County*, p. 232.

d'Attigué³⁸ by Montcalm,³⁹ in a letter dated in 1758. They reached Attigué on the 6, and found Joncaire waiting." (pp. 141, 142.) Embarking the next day they passed on their right an old Shawanees village,⁴⁰ which had not been occupied since the removal of Chartier⁴¹ to the Wabash country in 1745. "On their way," says Mr. Marshall, "they passed a village of Loups, all the inhabitants of

³⁸The passages referred to are the following, for which I am indebted to Mr. Jacob B. Moore, librarian of the Historical Society of New York. M. de Beauharnois to Count de Mauvepas, October 15, 1732. "Sieur de Joncaire, whom I sent last year to the Chauanons, has reported to me this spring that those Indians were settled in villages on the other side of the Beautiful River of the Oyo, six leagues below the river Attigué," &c.—N. Y. Col. Doc. IX., 135. "We have just received news from Fort Duquesne of the 23d of October. Captain Aubry, of the Louisiana troops, has gained a tolerably considerable advantage there on the 15th. The enemy lost on the occasion a hundred and fifty men; they were pursued as far as a new fort called Royal Hannon, which they built at the head of the river Attigué." (The river here referred to is, beyond question, the Loyallhanna, and the new fort, that at Ligonier, on the head of that stream.) M. de Montcalm to Marshall de Belle Isle, Montreal, November 15, 1758.—N. Y. Col. Doc., X. 901. And again, "M. de Ligneris, who commands at Fort Machault, writes that the English are constructing forts at Attigué and Royal Hannon." M. Malartie to M. de Crenille, Montreal, April 9, 1759.—N. Y. Col. Doc. X. 956. In the proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians (N. Y. Col. Doc. VII. 728) May 6, 1765. "The several nations assembled to give their answer. . . . At length we have agreed together . . . to make a cession to the king of the lands we shall now describe. . . . running up the west branch of the Susquehanna on the south side thereof, and from thence to Kittanning or Adigo on the Ohio," &c. . . . "At a conference, May 10th, present, as before," &c. The Onondaga speaker stood up and. . . . answered as follows: . . . that the line shall begin at Shamokin, run from thence along the west branch of the Susquehanna to a place on the Ohio named Adigo," &c. Reference will be made to this name "Adigo," later on.

³⁹Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de Saint-Véran, was born near Nîmes, France, February 23, 1712; entered the army at an early age, and after serving with distinction in different parts of Europe, came to America as commander of the troops of Canada, where, having opposed the English at various points, he was finally killed at the fall of Quebec, September 14, 1759.

⁴⁰This nation came from the South at no remote period, and the Iroquois assigned them lands on the west branch of the Susquehanna, but looked upon them as inferiors.—Drake's *Indians of North America*, p. 500. They had villages in different parts of Western Pennsylvania at the time of which we are now treating, and their name is familiar. But few names have been more the sport of orthographers. They are called, among other names, the Shawanees, Shawanese, Shawanoes, Shawnees, and by the French, Chaouanons.

⁴¹Peter Chartier, a name, like that of many others of our pioneers history, looms up only at distant intervals; and, however important the part which it plays, leaves

which, except three Iroquois, and an old woman who was regarded as a queen, and devoted to the English, had fled in alarm to Chin-ingué. (p. 142.) The Loups were a branch of the Delawares, called by the English Munceys. (p. 140.) This village Céloron declares to have been the finest he saw on the river. It must have been situated at or near the present site of Pittsburg.⁴² The description of the place, like many given by Céloron, is so vague that it is impossible to identify it with any certainty. * * * If the allusion to 'the finest place on the river' has no reference to the site of Pittsburg, then no mention is made of it whatever." (p. 142.) The old queen mentioned here was doubtless Aliquippa,⁴³ to whom Conrad Wei-

little or no trace of a previous or subsequent career,—perplexing the writer as much as the reader. Chartier was a French-Indian half breed who appears to have made his home for some time at Philadelphia; but, being of a restless disposition, was required to live on the Paxton Manor, on the east bank of the Susquehanna river immediately below the site of the present city of Harrisburg, in 1732.—*History of Western Pennsylvania*, p. 33. In 1743 he endeavored to engage the Shawanese in a war with the Six Nations, the steadfast friends of the English. In 1745, being reprimanded by Governor Thomas for some misconduct, he became alarmed, fled to the Shawanese, and induced them to declare for the French.—*The Olden Time*, vol. 1. p. 8. It is uncertain at what precise time he came to the Allegheny river at or near the mouth of Buffalo creek near the present Freeport, to what is called in Weiser and Father Bonnechamps' journals, "the old Shawanese town." Mr. Marshall says he left it for the Vermillion country in 1745; but it appears from the *Pennsylvania Archives* (vol. V. p. 311) that he did not join the French till November, 1747. But I must confess that no character in history has been so difficult to trace as that of this mercurial Chartier, and if I give little satisfaction to the reader, I give far less to myself. Chartier's creek which empties into the Allegheny river twenty-two miles above Pittsburg, and the stream of the same name three miles below that city appear to have derived their names from him.

⁴²The Indian name for the spot where the city of Pittsburg now stands was *Da-un-daga*, a Seneca word which is said to mean *the forks*. The reader will mark a family relation between it and the name by which the same tribe designated French creek; the one being *In-un-ga*, and the other *Da-un-daga*. Washington thus describes the spot at the close of the year 1753, when as yet no white man lived there: "The land at the point is about twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat well-timbered land all around it very convenient for building."—*Washington's Journal*, Nov. 22. It is remarkable that no mention appears to have been made in the journals of either Céloron or Bonnechamps' of the Monongahela river, although the largest stream they passed in their whole expedition. A stream is indeed marked, but without a name, on Father Bonnechamps' map, that must have been the river in question.

⁴³The statement of Conrad Weiser, who visited this strong-minded woman and had even the honor of dining with her, should, it would seem, settle the question of

ser,⁴⁴ who was sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Indians at Logstown, in 1748, refers under date of August 27, where he says, "We dined at a Seneca town, where an old Seneca woman reigns with great authority." (*Hist. West. Pa., App. p. 14*). George Washington, in the journal of his expedition to the French posts, on the Rivière aux Bœufs, mentions the same queen as then residing at the confluence of the Monongahela⁴⁵ and Youghiogheny⁴⁶ rivers, the spot where McKeesport now stands; and, under date of December 23, 1753, writes: "I went to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her on going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought the better present of the two."

The expedition did not stop for a night at the site of our city, as we infer from the following words of Mr. Marshall: "Their camp being only two leagues from Chiningué, they were able to reach the latter the next day. They found the village one of the largest on the

her nationality; for he says in his journal to Logstown, under date of August 27, 1748: "We dined in a Seneca town, where an old *Seneca* woman reigns with great authority. We dined at her house."—*History of Western Pennsylvania*, App., p. 14. Yet Mr. Charles McKnight in *Captain Jack*, p. 262, calls her a Delaware. The town here mentioned was Shannopin's Town, which appears to have stood on the east bank of the Allegheny about two miles above the forks, or near the foot of the present Thirty-third street, Pittsburg.

⁴⁴Conrad Weiser was one of the most noted persons of the provincial era. He was the son of John Conrad Weiser and his wife Anna M. Uebele, of Afstedt, Wurtemberg, where he was born Nov. 2, 1696. In 1710 he accompanied his parents to America, who settled on Livingston Manor, in Columbia county. Three years later they went to the Mohawk country in New York where young Conrad was schooled in the Indian languages which made him so useful to the proprietary government in later years. In 1723 he returned to Pennsylvania and settled in what is now Berks county. His knowledge of the Indian languages induced the proprietary government to appoint him, in 1732, the interpreter of the Confederation of the Six Nations; and from this time he was identified with the history of the province of Pennsylvania in all matters relating to the Indians, and was sent to them on several important missions. He was named by them *Taracha-wagon*. Having served in several civil and military positions, he died at his home on the 3d of July, 1760. He left a large family.—*Journal of the Treaty at Lancaster in 1744 with the Six Nations*, by Witham Marshe, Dr. Egle's notes, pp. 11, 12.

⁴⁵Monongahela is corrupted from Menaungehilla, a word implying *high banks or bluffs, breaking off and falling down at places*.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names, &c.*, p. 32.

⁴⁶Youghiogheny is a word corrupted from *Juh-wiah-hanne*, signifying *a stream flowing in a contrary direction, or in a circuitous course*.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names, &c.*, p. 49.

river, consisting of fifty cabins of Iroquois, Shawanees and Loups, from Sault St. Louis and Lake of the Two Mountains, with Nipissings, Ottawas and Abenakis. Bonnechamps estimates the number of cabins at eighty, and says: 'We called it Chiningué, from its vicinity to the river of that name'⁴⁷ * * * The place was subsequently known as Logtown,⁴⁸ a large and flourishing village, which figures prominently in Indian history for many years after this period. * * * On reaching Chiningué, Céloron found several English traders, whom he compelled to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6, 1749, 'that he was surprised to find English traders on French territory, and hoped that the Governor would forbid their trespassing in future.' De Céloron also made a speech, in which he informed the Indians that 'he was on his way down the Ohio to whip back the Twightwees and Wyandots for trading with the English.' They treated his speech with contempt, insisting that 'to separate them from the English would be like cutting a man into halves and expecting him to live.' The Indians were found so unfriendly to the French, and suspicious of the objects of the expedition, as to embarrass the movements of De Céloron. His Iroquois and Abenaki allies refused to accompany him further than Chiningué. They destroyed the plates, which, bearing the arms of the French king, had been affixed to trees as memorials of his sovereignty." (p. 143.)

On leaving Chiningué they passed two rivers, one on either side, before they crossed the boundary line of the State; one of which they named Chiningué, as we have seen, which was the Beaver river,

⁴⁷The stream here referred to was the Beaver river, which falls into the Ohio from the north about twenty-seven miles below Pittsburg, at the spot where that river reaches the most northern point in its entire course. When or why it was called "the river Chiningué" I have not been able to learn. The Delaware Indian name of the river was *Amoch-kwi-sipu*, that is, *Beaver river*; or, *Amochk-hanne*, that is, *beaver stream*. The Indians, however, called the river *Kaskaskie-sipu*, from the town of Kaskaskie on its banks, *sipo* and *sipu* signifies a river; *si-po-tit*, (diminutive), a creek; *si-punk* and *si-pu-sing*, at, or on the river.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, &c., p. 16, 17.

⁴⁸The precise location of this town has engaged no little attention from local historians, some maintaining that it was on the south side, some on the north of the Ohio; but it is now generally admitted to have been on the latter, about eighteen miles below the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers.—*Craig's History of Pittsburg*, p. 215; *History of Western Pennsylvania*, App., p. 14.

and the other, to which they gave no name, was Raccoon creek,⁴⁹ which empties into the Ohio from the east somewhat further down. Passing on they buried their third leaden plate at the mouth of a stream which Mr. Marshall takes to be Wheeling creek, although, as he says: "Neither Céloron nor Bonnechamps gives such a description of the locality as to warrant a positive identification of the site.

* * * No vestige of the plate has been discovered so far as is known." (p. 144.) The expedition resumed its course on the 14th, and on the following day arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum. Here the fourth plate was buried on the right bank of the Ohio. It was found by some boys in 1798, who destroyed part of it, but the rest, falling into the hands of one who could appreciate its value, came in time into possession of the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts, where it still remains. Resuming their voyage, they came on the 18th to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and there deposited the fifth plate. This plate was found by a boy in March, 1846, but what has become of it is not known. On the 31st of August the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Great Miami, where the voyage on the Ohio ceased, and the last of the leaden plates was buried. So far as is known this plate has not been found. They now began to ascend the Great Miami; and having reached "Demoiselles," the residence of La Demoiselles, a chief of a portion of the Miamis, who were friendly to the English, they rested for a week to recruit and prepare for the portage to the head-waters of the Maumee. "Having burned their canoes and obtained some ponies, they set out on their overland journey. The distance was estimated by Céloron as fifty leagues, and five days were allotted for its accomplishment. They completed the portage on the 25th of September, and arrived at Kiskakon, which appears to have been the Indian name for Fort Wayne. * * * Leaving Kiskakon on the 27th, a part of the expedition went overland to Detroit, and the remainder descended the river by canoes." (p. 147.) On the 8th of October Céloron launched into Lake Erie, and passing through it and Lake Ontario, with a little delay at Niagara, the expedition reached Montreal on the 10th of November—not October, as is put by mistake in Mr. Marshall's article, (p. 148) and according to the estimate of both Céloron and Father Bonnechamps they traveled at least twelve hundred leagues,

⁴⁹In Delaware, *Nachnum-hanne*, that is, *raccoon stream*, from *Na-che-num*, a *raccoon*; *Na-che-num-mook*, *raccoons*.—Heckewelder, *Indian Names*, &c., p. 40.

or about three thousand miles. Such is a brief outline of Céloron's expedition, as given by Mr. Marshall in his able and interesting article on the subject.

While we cannot but feel deeply indebted to Mr. Marshall for his researches in this department of our history, we cannot at the same time close our eyes to certain inaccuracies with which his paper is marred; a few only of which I shall now proceed to point out. And first as to *dates*. He says, (p. 142,) "They reached Attigné on the 6th of August. * * * Leaving Attigné the next day they passed a village of Loups," &c., which he very properly supposes to have been situated within the limits of the present city of Pittsburg. He continues: "Their camp being only two leagues from Chiningué, they were able to reach the latter the next day." This place was known to the English by the name of Logstown. They, therefore, arrived at this point on their journey on the 8th of August, according to Mr. Marshall, but yet he says, on the next page, that, "on reaching Chiningué, Céloron found several English traders, whom he forced to leave. He wrote by them to Governor Hamilton, under date of August 6, 1749," &c., and the letter, which may be easily found actually bears that date. It was undoubtedly written on the 9th, and it has been sought to explain the mistake by supposing that the figure was inverted, making a "6" out of a "9." This may be, and most probably is true, but while it explains it does not excuse the mistake, for if a casual reader must see it, how much more should he see it who was at pains to prepare the article.

Still greater inaccuracies are found in the statements as to certain *distances*. For example, after giving an account of the depositing of the leaden plate at the rock which has come to be known as "the Indian god," on the eastern bank of the Allegheny river, nine miles below the mouth of French creek, he continues: "From this station Céloron sent Joncaire forward to Attigné the next day to announce the approach of the expedition, it being an Indian settlement of some importance, on the left bank of the river, some eight or nine leagues further down." And a little further on he says, "Attigné was probably on or near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas river, which falls into the south side of the Allegheny about twenty-five miles above Pittsburg." Now, the fact is, the mouth of the Kiskiminetas is a little more than twenty-nine miles, instead of "about twenty-five" above

Pittsburg, while "the Indian god" is one hundred and fifteen miles above, leaving the distance between them about eighty-six miles—or four times as much as Mr. Marshall gives—instead of less than twenty-three; for he had just informed the reader that "the league as used by Céloron may be estimated as containing about two miles and a half," and also that, "distances are always overstated by the French *voyageurs* in America." (p. 141.) A yet greater inaccuracy is met with further on, where he tells us of "an old Indian village at the mouth of French creek, in Pennsylvania, one hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Muskingum." (p. 144.) But what is our surprise when we learn that instead of being one hundred and thirty miles above that point, it is two hundred and ninety-five miles, or considerably more than twice that distance—the one being one hundred and twenty-four miles above Pittsburg, and the other one hundred and seventy-one (official survey) below. We can only conclude that he was ignorant of the geography of the country of which he wrote. Nor can he plead as a sufficient excuse the fact that the description of places as given by Céloron, are so vague that it is impossible to identify them with any certainty. These places are well known natural objects.

As regards *places*, it may be remarked that, to those who are familiar with our early history it must be a matter of surprise that no mention appears to have been made of the well known Indian village of Kittanning,⁵⁰ by either Céloron or Father Bonnechamps, so far, at least, as we are able to learn from Mr. Marshall's article; nor is it marked on the map drawn by Father Bonnechamps. When

⁵⁰Kittanning is a word of Indian origin, and is significant. Says Heckewelder: "Kittanning is corrupted from *Kit-hanne* (in Minsi Delaware, *Gicht-hanne*), signifying the *main stream*, that is, in its region of country. *Kit-hanne* is perpetuated in Kittanning, corrupted from *Kit-hán-nink*, signifying *at or on the main stream*, that is, the town at or on the main stream." He also says: "We indeed have the word Kittanning on our maps for a particular spot on the Allegheny river, whereas the true meaning of the word, which should be written *Kit-han-nink*, denotes the river itself." He gives its etymology thus: *Kitschi*, *superior*, *greatest*, and *hanne*, which denotes flowing water, or a stream of flowing water. The late W. C. Reichel, who was very familiar with the Indian languages, in one of his papers says: "Among themselves the Indians always called the river *Kit-hanne*. Only when conversing with traders or whites to whom the word was familiar, in naming the river in question, would the Indians call it the Ohio. Thus the common idea that *Kittanning* means *cornfield* is exploded."—*History of Armstrong County*, p. 106.

I first wrote this paper I advanced the opinion—which I had never seen mentioned by anyone else—that Attigué and Kittanning were one and the same. What I then advanced as a *theory*, I now assert as a *fact*. Attigué was an Indian village of some importance; so was Kittanning. It had twenty-two cabins at the time of Céloron's visit; and when Col. Armstrong destroyed Kittanning, Sept. 8, 1756, he says in his official report that it contained about thirty houses—no inordinate increase when we remember that the French were accustomed to stop there on their way down the river, and that perhaps some of them lived there. Besides, Kittanning, or Kithenning, as it was sometimes called by the English, was known to the French, and was a trading post on a small scale as early as the year 1726.⁵¹ It is difficult, on the one hand, to understand how so important an expedition as Céloron's would pass it by without mention; while, on the other hand, it seems most reasonable that it would be to just such a place as this that a messenger would be sent to announce the approach of the expedition. Céloron had come to attach the friendly Indians still more firmly to the French cause, and to conciliate those who were unfriendly; why, then, would he offer an insult to both the one and the other by passing a town of his allies without notice? And if he stopped there why is no mention made of it in his journal or that of Father Bonnechamps? If Attigué was not Kittanning, then no mention whatever is made of Kittanning; and this appears in the highest degree inexplicable.

The objections that may be and have been urged against this view are not, in my opinion, sufficient to overthrow it. It has been maintained by some of our local historians that the old Shawanees town mentioned on the map, was Kittanning, of which Mr. Marshall says: "They passed on the right an old Chaouanons (Shawnees) village. It had not been occupied by the Indians since the removal of Charrier and his band to the river Vermillion, in the Wabash country, in 1745." They would further have us believe that Kittanning stood on both sides of the river. But Mr. Marshall himself refutes this theory, for he gives the old Shawanees town as *below* Attigué, and says: "Embarking together (at Attigué) they passed, on the right, an old Shawanee's village," &c. (p. 142.) But the theory of the old Shawanees village being identical with Kittanning is not tenable for

⁵¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. I, pp. 299-301.

several other reasons. In the first place, it is given on the map as below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, where Attigué was supposed to stand. Again it cannot be proved that Kittanning was on both sides of the river. Col. Armstrong, already referred to, mentions houses on the east side of the river, but makes no allusion to any on the other side, although he had direct occasion to speak of the other side of the stream, and actually states in his official report that some Indians fired from there. If houses existed there they would have been the best protection for those who wished to harrass the enemy, and mention of them could hardly have been avoided. Besides, Kittanning was a Delaware town, while Attigué, as is clearly stated, was a Shawanees town. Nor is there any evidence that Kittanning was uninhabited at that time; on the contrary, everything points to its having been in a flourishing condition. But the strongest evidence that the old Shawanees village could not have been Kittanning, is furnished by Conrad Weiser, mentioned above. While on his way to Logstown, in the summer of 1748, he approached the Allegheny river—being then on the north side of the Kiskiminetas, as the course of his route proves—and, referring to the place, makes these entries in his journal: "Crossed Kiskiminetas creek, and came to the Ohio that day. * * * Hired a canoe. * * * From the place where we took water, that is from the old Shawanees town, commonly called Chartier's town," &c.⁵² This is conclusive that both Céloron and Weiser refer to the same town, and that it stood below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, and, consequently, could not have been Kittanning, which was fifteen miles above the mouth of that stream. The place at which it is marked on the map adds weight to this view; and it may be further remarked that traces of an old Indian village have been found at different times at the mouth of Buffalo creek, where Freeport now stands, and more especially a short distance up the creek from its mouth.⁵³ The statement of a critic,⁵⁴ "That Attigué was at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas is just as certain as that Fort Duquesne was at the mouth of the Monongahela," cannot be maintained for a moment. Every historian of the United States

⁵²*History of Western Pennsylvania.* Appendix, p. 13.

⁵³*History of Armstrong County,* pp. 400, 401.

⁵⁴Signing himself *Da-un-daga*, in *Chronicle-Telegraph*, Jan. 2, 1884.

not only refers to Fort Duquesne, but also devotes considerable attention to the place which it occupies in our annals ; but the reader will look in vain for even the bare mention of the name of Attigué. I have never seen it on the pages of any American history, nor do I believe that it exists there. Even Mr. Marshall does not say that Attigué was at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas. He only says, as we have seen, that "Attigué was *probably* on or *near* the Kiskiminetas river." (p. 142.) That there were Indian villages at the mouth of that stream is certain, as we must infer from the journal of Conrad Weiser, and from other evidence ; but that question has nothing to do with the location of Attigué and Kittanning. Nor does the difference between the French and English name, make for anything, as it is well known that the two nations did not always call the same places by the same names. As little does the fact that Montcalm calls the Kiskiminetas "the river d' Attigué," militate against this view ; for he was more than five hundred miles from the spot, and would naturally call the place by the only name he knew of in the vicinity ; just as Céloron called the Beaver "the river Chiningué," although it was about eight miles from the village of that name. It may also be remarked that there is no river given on Father Bonnehamps' map to correspond with the Kiskiminetas, at or near whose mouth the village of Attigué was supposed to stand.

But we are not forced to rely merely on circumstantial evidence, however conclusive ; we have original documents which set the matter forever at rest, and prove beyond all question that Attigué and Kittanning were identical. In the proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians, May 6, 1765, when the boundaries of certain concessions of land were to be fixed, we read : "The several nations assembled to give their answer." And after describing the line for a distance, they continue : "Running up the west branch of the Susquehanna, on the south side thereof, and from thence to Kittanning, or Adigo, on the Ohio, thence along down the Ohio," &c. And when they again assembled, May 10, to ratify the treaty, they described the same line, but omit the name Kittanning, thus further proving the identity of the two villages. They say, "to a place on the Ohio named Adigo, thence down the Ohio," &c.⁵⁵ The difference between Attigué and Adigo is so trifling that anyone will recognize them as one and the same name ; and this difference will appear

⁵⁵N. Y. Col. Doc. VII. 728.

still less when we remember that the French pronounce Attigué At-té-ga, as French scholars know; while the name Adigo was used by a different nation and language, and spelled phonetically. Indeed, the difference is less than that between Kittanning and Kithenning, although both were used by the same nation for the same place. While this conclusively demonstrates the identity of the two villages, it at the same time accounts for the apparent silence of Céloron, Bonnechamps and the map in regard to so well known an Indian town.

I shall close with some remarks on the subject of the earliest religious services held in this part of our State. It is well known, as I have said, that the English had no permanent settlements west of the mountains, until subsequent to the French evacuation of Fort Duquesne; and it is equally certain that the early Catholic missionaries to the West did not establish any post in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania; nor do they appear to have passed through that section of the country at all. La Salle was not accompanied by a missionary⁵⁶ on his trip down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers in 1669-70. To the Jesuit, Father Bonnechamps, the chaplain of Céloron's expedition, then, must be awarded the honor of having been the first minister of religion to perform any act of religious worship on the soil of Western Pennsylvania. But where did he perform these acts? I may be permitted to state for the information of those who stand in need of it, that the Mass is the principal act of Catholic worship, and that it is always celebrated in the morning, or in the early part of the day. It was the custom of the French under the old *régime* to have their expeditions accompanied by a chaplain, and to have him celebrate Mass every morning before they set out on the march, or entered upon the duties of the day. Besides the fact that this is a well known custom of the French, we have a remarkable proof of it during their occupation of this place. When M. de Villiers was marching against the English who were encamped at a point within the limits of the present Fayette county, he kept a journal of the expedition, in which we find the following entry: "The 29, (June, 1754), Mass was said in camp, after which we marched," &c.⁵⁷ We may then reasonably conclude that religious services

⁵⁶Parkman's *La Salle*, pp. 13 and 24.

⁵⁷*The Olden Time*, vol. II. p. 211.

were held at every place where the expedition remained for the night; that is, in Pennsylvania, at what is now the town of Warren, at Broken Straw, a short distance below, at perhaps one or two other places between that point and "the Indian god," nine miles below the mouth of French creek, and at Attigué, or Kittanning. But it is certain that Mass was not celebrated on the spot where Pittsburg now stands; for Mr. Marshall says distinctly that the expedition passed that place, and stopped three leagues further down for the night. But was religious service held at Chiningué, or Logstown, as it was called by the English? I may be pardoned for stating by way of explanation, that a priest is not permitted to commence Mass if he foresees that it is likely to be interrupted. The French remained there for several days, and although their sojourn was by no means a happy one, they were yet masters of their own camp, and could conduct any exercise without fear of molestation. We may then regard it as certain that they did so. It is, however, impossible to decide whether they remained for another night within the limits of our State or not, and, consequently, whether they held religious service at any other place or not; but it seems most likely they did not, as the distance from Logstown to the State line is not more than twenty-three miles at most.

I hope to treat in a subsequent paper of the French posts in Western Pennsylvania, where occasion will be presented for speaking of the priests and other ministers of religion who next appeared in this part of our State, and the reader is referred to it for what follows the date of Céloron's expedition.

WHEN Father McGuire was collecting funds for the erection of the first St. Paul's church, in 1829-32, being well known and esteemed by the citizens of Pittsburg, he called upon many Protestants as well as Catholics for assistance. In his rounds he met with one of the former who flatly refused him, asking what good could he do him in return. Says Father McGuire, "I'll give you holy water every morning for your coffee." Upon being asked how he could do that, he replied: "I'll bless the city basin every morning,"—which stood on the opposite side of Fifth street, (now Fifth avenue,) directly in front of the new church. He received a contribution.

The Early Days of Catholicity in Pittsburg.

The first traders and government messengers to the Indians in the western part of our State, came from the east by way of the Juniata river; and, crossing the Allegheny mountains, descended the Kiskiminetas to the Allegheny, and thence down that stream and the Ohio to their destination. It was by this route that Christopher Gist came as agent of the Ohio Company in 1748. Following the Allegheny on the western side he passed behind what is now known as Monument Hill, opposite the mouth of the Monongahela river, and remained in ignorance of the existence of that stream. By the same route came Conrad Weiser in 1751, and perhaps some other adventurers.¹ But the more direct road, that by way of *Nemocolin's Path*, was soon after adopted. This was a noted Indian trail, which extended from the mouth of Will's creek, where the city of Cumberland, Maryland, now stands, and passing over the mountains and through the Great Meadows, struck the Monongahela river at Red Stone Old Fort, fifty-five miles above Pittsburg, the site of the present town of Brownsville.² Whether it extended further east or west, we are not at present concerned to inquire. General Braddock followed this path in his ill-fated expedition against Fort Duquesne, to a point some twenty miles east of the Monongahela, where he turned to the north. From that time it became the established route to the west; and when the southern turnpike was constructed, in the early part of the present century, it followed closely the Indian trail to the river, where many of the emigrants were accustomed to take boats to their destination in the wilds of Kentucky or some other western territory. Among these emigrants were persons from Maryland, as well as natives of France, Germany and Ireland, a few of whom concluded to make their homes in the valley of the Monongahela, or in the incipient city of Pittsburg. One of the former was Neal Gillespie, Sr., the grandfather of James Gillespie Blaine, one of the candidates for the Presidency of the United States. But the number of Catholics was necessarily small; and, whatever their attachment to the faith may have

¹ *The Olden Time*, vol. I. p. 9; *History of Western Pennsylvania*, Appendix, pp. 13-24.

² *The Monongahela of Old*, pp. 25-27.

been in other lands, many of them fell away in their new homes, in part through their own fault, in part owing to the scarcity of priests, or rather the entire absence of priests to minister to their spiritual necessities, and in part from mixed marriages. Those who remained faithful, and upon them only can we count, were but a handful. Some of the others cared nothing for the faith of their fathers, while others, again, would not live up to it during life, but wanted to see a priest at hand whom they could call at the hour of death. The presence of General Wayne in Pittsburg during the time he was preparing for his famous expedition against the Indians of the northwest, while it increased the number of Catholics for the moment, hardly elevated the tone of their piety, and certainly left no permanent augmentation of their body.

So much for the people themselves ; turn we now to the priests who ministered to them. And let me here state, parenthetically, that I make no hesitation in changing opinions expressed on other occasions, when I find that I was then wrong. As attention is drawn to matters of this kind, new information is elicited, and, in the light of this, the errors of the past often can, and when possible, always should be corrected.

As to the priests who visited this city and the neighboring country in those early days, we have only the most meagre accounts. Mr. J. G. Shea informs us that "as early as July, 1785, there came to the Very Rev. Dr. Carroll an application from seventy Catholics on or near the Monongahela, who desired to have at least an annual visit from a priest."³ Very Rev. John Carroll, who was a cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and who was afterwards first Bishop and first Archbishop of the Church in the United States, was at this time the Superior of the American Clergy. His promotion to the episcopate took place four years later. The first priest who actually came to Pittsburg was the restless Frenchman, Rev. Peter Huet de la Vilmière, who in his wide wanderings walked from Philadelphia to this city in the early summer of 1786. How long he remained, or whether he stopped at all, or what Catholics he found in the place is not known, but he descended the Ohio to the Illinois country in a batteau. There is no account whatever of his visit except the mere fact.⁴ As the tide of emigration had now set in from Maryland to Kentucky, and as many of the emigrants were Catholics, priests were

³*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. VI. p. 177.

⁴*The Catholic Church in the United States*. De Courcay-Shea, p. 462.

sent from time to time to minister to their spiritual necessities, who, following the customary route, came to Brownsville, and thence to Pittsburg, where they were sometimes delayed either for want of sufficient water in the Ohio or for a means of transportation. The next priest of whom mention is made was the Carmelite, Father Paul, of whom I have been able to learn as little as of Father Vilmière. Then came the worthy but eccentric Franciscan, Rev. Charles Whalen, who was sent by Dr. Carroll to the Catholics of Kentucky in 1787.⁵ But the most noted of these western missionaries was Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, afterwards first Bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky,—a See since transferred to Louisville. Says his biographer: "He set out on his journey (from Baltimore to Vincennes) in the month of May, 1792, in a wagon destined to Pittsburg. . . . In Pittsburg he was detained for nearly six months, in consequence of the low stage of the water in the Ohio. He carried with him letters of introduction from Bishop Carroll to Gen. Wayne, who was stationed at that point, preparing for his great expedition against the Indians of the northwest. . . . During his detention in Pittsburg, Monsieur Flaget was not idle. He boarded in the family of a French Huguenot, married to an American Protestant lady, by whom he was kindly and hospitably entertained. He said Mass every morning in their house, and during the day devoted himself to the instruction of the few French inhabitants and French Catholic soldiers. The small-pox having broken out in the place, he was indefatigable in his attentions to those stricken with the loathsome disease. Forgetful of his own imminent danger, he generously devoted himself for their bodily and spiritual comfort. His zeal brought with it a blessing, and he was much consoled by these first fruits of his ministry in America. An incident occurred while he was in Pittsburg, which presented an occasion for the exercise of his charity and zeal. . . . Four soldiers had deserted, and on being apprehended they were promptly condemned to death by a court-martial. Two of them were Irish or American Catholics, one was a Protestant, and the fourth a French infidel. Monsieur Flaget visited them in prison; and though but little acquainted with English, he had the happiness to receive the Protestant into the church, and to administer the Sacraments to the two Catholics. They were in the most happy dispositions; and he mingled his tears of joy with theirs of repentance.

⁵*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. VI. p. 177.

The Frenchman proved obdurate ; and the zealous priest could make no impression on his heart. . . . In November he left Pittsburg in a flat-boat bound for Louisville.⁶ In the autumn of 1793, Rev. Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, accompanied by Rev. M. Barrières also passed through Pittsburg, remaining for a short time, as we may gather from the following: "The two missionaries left Baltimore on the 6th of September, 1793, and traveled like the Apostles, on foot to Pittsburg, over bad roads and a rugged wilderness country. On the 3d of November they embarked on a flat-boat which was descending the Ohio."⁷

"In 1796 Rev. Mr. Fournier found a hundred Catholics there, who had zeal enough to raise a subscription to support a priest, but so careless were they that, though he remained there fourteen weeks, hardly six could be induced to hear Mass on Sunday. Two other priests, Rev. Messrs. Maguire and Bodkin, were also there at the time on their way to the west."⁸ I cannot but think there must be a mistake here, for it seems to me, after having studied the question with great care, that there could not have been a hundred Catholics in Pittsburg at that time. If we include the whole Monongahela valley, and suppose, which is very natural, that the good priest came to Brownsville, and thence to our city, and found in all that number of Catholics, it may be admitted, otherwise I cannot but think there is a considerable error ; for the whole population of Pittsburg in January of that year was only 1,395.⁹ They did not reach one-third of that number even ten years later, as we shall presently see.

None of the first priests who came to Sportsman's Hall, now St. Vincent's Abbey, near Latrobe, Westmoreland county, namely : Rev. John Cause, Rev. Theodore Browsers or Rev. Francis Fromm appear to have visited Pittsburg ; indeed it is almost certain they did not. Whether Rev. Lawrence Sylvester Whelan, (or Phelan,) who was at the same place in the year 1797, and who left it in the latter part of that year, came to our city or not, I cannot with certainty decide ; but I think it probable that he did. The Franciscan, Rev. Patrick Lonergan, who was in this part of the State, and visited several missions in the years 1799, 1800, and 1801, undoubtedly ministered to the few Catholics here on more than one occasion during those three

⁶*Sketches of the Life, &c., of Right Rev. B. J. Flaget*, pp. 31-33.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. VI. p. 177.

⁹*The Pittsburg Gazette*, Jan. 9, 1796.

years; although he never made his home in Pittsburg. At first he resided at Sportsman's Hall; but not finding that place to his liking, he came to Waynesburg, Greene county, from which he left for Ireland in the latter part of the year 1801. Rev. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, of Loretto, Cambria county, also visited Pittsburg sometimes, but it would appear not with the express purpose of ministering to the people; although when here he doubtless exercised his ministry in their behalf, owing to the fact that they were so seldom permitted to welcome a priest into their midst. The first priest who can be said to have attended the place regularly was Rev. Peter Hilbron, (or Heilbron,) who came to Sportsman's Hall November 17, 1799, and remained till the time of his death, seventeen years later. But his visits, owing to the vast extent of territory under his jurisdiction, were not more frequent than once in the year. When he came he always put up at the house of Col. James O'Hara, which stood at the corner of Water and Short streets, about four squares from the point. Mr. O'Hara was a Catholic in name only, was married to a Protestant lady, and was grandfather of Rev. Harmer Denny, S. J. He had a room fitted up for the missionary, called "the priest's room;" but Father Hilbron appears to have been the only priest who put up with him. He was succeeded by Rev. W. F. X. O'Brien, the first resident priest in Pittsburg. But before entering upon the history of religion during his time, we shall pause to inquire, where Mass was celebrated in those early days.

Neither history nor tradition has transmitted to us any account of the places in which Mass was celebrated anterior to the arrival of Father Hilbron, except that the biographer of Bishop Flaget says, as we have seen, that he said Mass in the house of the Protestant family with whom he put up, during his stay in the summer of 1792. This circumstance would argue the small number of the Catholics at that time, and their poverty; for a priest would hardly stop with Protestants if there was any of his own faith in a condition to afford him accommodations. After the arrival of Father Hilbron, he appears to have said Mass generally on his visits, which were only once in the year, in the house of a Mr. McFall, which was situated at the corner of Water and Liberty streets, although he sometimes celebrated in the house of Alex. May, situated on First street, (now First avenue), between Market and Ferry streets, and perhaps at other places which tradition has not transmitted to us. I shall continue the early history of the Church here in a future number.

Historical Library of the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburg.

The Bishop has requested me to assure you of his heartiest approval of the work in which you are engaged.

T. F. BRILEY,
Secretary pro tem.

Several years ago I began to devote my attention to the collection of books, &c., bearing on the history of Catholicity in the United States, and so far I have met with fair success. But the more a person pursues a favorite object, the more he becomes engrossed in it; and anyone who collects a library at the labor and expense which always attend such an undertaking, does not relish the thought that at his death it will be scattered to the winds by the blows of an auctioneer's hammer. Yet this has been the fate of some of the rarest collections of books and manuscripts that have been made in this country. To prevent it in my own case, as well as to benefit the diocese, I formed the design last spring of establishing a Diocesan Historical Library. Being pastor of the church that stands near the spot on which the foundation of religion was first laid in this part of the State, there was a propriety in my undertaking the work of preserving our early records; and hence I date the foundation of the library from the 17th of April, 1884, the one hundred and thirtieth anniversary of the first Mass and first public act of religious worship ever performed on the spot where Pittsburg now stands.

The object which I wish to see realized, and which I now propose to the consideration of such as may look favorably upon it, is three-fold: to collect, first, books, pamphlets and papers bearing on the history of the Church in the United States; secondly, historical works of whatever kind relating to the State of Pennsylvania; and, thirdly, interesting traditions and relics of the early days of Catholicity in this diocese, so that as little more may be lost as possible in the death of the elder members of the community. Books of this kind are seldom offered for sale, except at second hand, and are then quickly

secured by those who know their value ; and hence it is of primary importance that a person who is collecting them should be in a position to seize every opportunity of buying them when they are offered. But when the beginning is once made, and it becomes known that a person is collecting such works, they will be offered to him by those who wish to dispose of them, his name will become known among dealers, and doubtless some works will be presented by the generous ; each book or article will have its own particular history, which some one may be interested in writing up, and the whole will in the end result in the formation of a Catholic historical society or it will become an important part of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania ; the example will be caught up by other dioceses, for so far as I know I am the first to inaugurate a movement of this kind in the United States, and greater attention will be paid, as it should be, to the Catholic history of America. But the questions will naturally be asked, what is to be done with these books, &c., in the present, and what will become of them in the future ? and, what inducements have I to offer those whom I wish to interest in the movement ? My plan is to keep them in my possession, but in such a manner that they can be consulted by those who aid in promoting the work ; to forbid them being taken out of the place in which they are kept ; to keep them covered by a sufficient insurance—as all this is necessary to secure them against loss ; and then to leave them at my death to the diocese, stipulating that they be kept in the episcopal residence, in the diocesan seminary or in some Catholic institution of learning in this city, where they can be consulted but not taken from the place in which they are, and that, consequently, they can never become a part of a circulating library. Each book, &c., when received is marked with a numbered label having on it the words : “ Historical Library of the Catholic Diocese of Pittsburg.” A proper register is also kept of them, with date of purchase and price, or name of donor.

The inducements I have to offer are these,—which I deem quite sufficient to offset any selfishness that may appear in my keeping them in my possession during life : I have begun by throwing in my own library, now one of the best private libraries in the city or diocese, worth about twenty-five hundred dollars, and containing some of the rarest and most valuable Catholic historical works ever pub-

lished in this country. I also offer the use of my library for consultation to those who second this work ; and to these may be added the satisfaction there will be to know that we have in the diocese for all future time such a collection of original works for reference. I may also be permitted to add the years of labor and research I have already expended and hope yet to expend in the collection and preservation of our local and general Catholic history ; and which, I may be pardoned for thinking, should meet with some such recognition as this which will not only enable me to continue my work for the good of the diocese, but will leave to the diocese a collection of works that are fast becoming irrecoverably lost.

The means by which I hope to attain this object will consist of my own resources and the contributions from such of the reverend clergy and leading lay Catholics as may feel sufficient interest in the work to induce them to promote it by pecuniary assistance. Considerable interest is manifested in it wherever it has become known, and a number of contributions have already been received. But the movement is yet in its infancy, and, I need not say, that this is not the best season of the year to push a work of this kind.

It has been objected, and apparently with some show of reason, that persons will feel a delicacy in coming to the house of another to consult books. In reply to this I have only to say that there is no sufficient reason for such a feeling ; for, besides welcoming them, it will be more than probable that I shall be able to point out to them in a few moments what it might take them considerable time to find in a public library. A person knows more of his own library than a librarian does of a public collection. And I shall most probably make more use of it myself than all other persons taken together. There is no other place to keep the books, unless it is procured at an expense which there is nothing now to meet. The fact, too, that it is meant to be a special collection makes it safest in the private custody of the one most interested in it. And such a one will also be the most capable of judging the value of books to be purchased. It is also well known that a private library is as a rule worth as much as a public one of three times the number of volumes. The keeping of the books in my possession is the condition on which the work was approved, on which it is and has been presented to the public, and on which, for the part I have in it, I shall insist. The collection from

its very nature will increase slowly, and it will be long before it is either a burden to me, or is able to provide itself with better quarters than I can afford.

This library, I wish to state, has no connection whatever with the present publication. Should this movement meet with the approval of any of those who read of it, they will confer a favor by enclosing a small donation to further it; and should anyone feel disposed to contribute a certain amount annually, he will please state the fact and the amount. Trifling sums aggregate in the end something considerable, so that no one need hesitate to give a little. Donations of such books, &c., as are referred to in the above will be gratefully received and promptly acknowledged; but I must be permitted to state explicitly that it is only works of this kind that I desire; my ambition is not simply to fill my bookshelves.

WHO SET UP THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN THE NEW WORLD?

The Rt. Rev. Ignacio de Oca y Obregon, D. D., Bishop of Linarez, Mexico, in his address at the Annual Commencement of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, June 26th, of the present year, says: "His name should be pronounced with reverence and gratitude by all those who love science and civilization, by every man who was born or lives in America. It was the first Bishop and Archbishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan Zumarraga. It was as early as 1540. The first Viceroy of New Spain, Mendoza, helped the Archbishop in his glorious work; the celebrated editor Cromberger, of Seville, furnished the materials and the men; John Pablos was the name of the typographer chosen to cross the Atlantic, and an abridgement of Christian Doctrine, in both the Spanish and the Aztec languages, was the first book ever issued by the press in the New World. When you see those enormous sheets on which the *Herald* is published; when you admire the beautiful engravings which adorn the splendidly printed books daily issued at New York and Philadelphia, please do not forget the poor friar who brought to the New World this wonderful art; and you may feel proud of belonging to the Catholic Church, which has ever been and ever will be at the head of civilization."

WORKS BY REV. A. A. LAMBING.

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APPROBATION.

We hereby cordially approve of the work entitled, "A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE DIOCESES OF PITTSBURG AND ALLEGHENY," etc.

The author, Rev. A. A. LAMBING, a most worthy priest of this diocese, and Rector of the Church of St. Mary of Mercy, this city, is entitled to great credit for the care and labor which he has bestowed on its compilation.

Believing this History to be as faithful as it was possible to render it with the material at hand, we take pleasure in recommending it to the clergy and laity, and we hope that it will meet with the success which so useful and meritorious a work deserves.

✠ J. TUIGG,

Bishop of Pittsburg, and Administrator of Allegheny.

Pittsburg, May 30, 1880.

Imprimatur,

✠ JOHN, CARDINAL M'CLOSKY,

Archbishop of New York.

BALTIMORE, May 3, 1883.

Rev. Dear Father :

The Catholic community owe you a debt of gratitude for your interesting and comprehensive "History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny." You have succeeded in giving us charming and edifying portraits of the pioneers of faith in Pennsylvania, and in rescuing from oblivion the lives of heroic men whose noble example ought to stimulate us to walk in their footsteps. I pray God to reward you for the eminent services you have rendered to religion by your timely History.

Faithfully yours in Christ,

✠ JAMES GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

Rev. A. A. LAMBING.

PHILADELPHIA, May 3, 1883.

Rev. A. A. Lambing :

REV. DEAR SIR—Many thanks for your kind present of the "History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny." It is full of interest, and has secured portions of history from perishing by placing them in a proper form for preservation; thus affording an excellent practical example, which may be very properly imitated by others, and ourselves.

I am very sincerely your servant in Christ,

✠ JAMES F. WOOD,

Archbishop of Philadelphia.

ERIE, May 7, 1883.

Dear Father Lambing :

I have been identified with the diocese of Pittsburg from 1843, the year of its erection, to 1868. During that period I have performed missionary duty in every portion of it, except in one or two of the southern counties, and am therefore able to form some opinion of the manner in which you performed your task as Historian of the *Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny*. That opinion is that so far as general accuracy is concerned, your work is not susceptible of improvement, though I could

make a few unimportant corrections in matters of detail, where none but an eye-witness of the events referred to would detect any mistake. As to the manner in which you have treated the subjects, I will merely observe that whoever undertakes to write the history of the American Church, when each State in the Union possesses its own Metropolitan and several suffragans and acquits himself as you have done, will be entitled to credit, while he is under great obligations to you for the materials you have collected with so much labor and arranged with so much skill. Whoever the coming historian may be, no chapter in his work will be more correct or more clear than that devoted to the ground you have traversed, though he do no more than condense what you have written. * * * * *

Truly yours in Christ,

✕ TOBIAS,
Bishop of Erie.

EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE, CLEVELAND, May 12, 1883.

Rev. A. A. Lambing :

DEAR SIR—I have read your “History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny” with great satisfaction. I look upon it as a model history of a diocese, and by far the best of its kind so far published.

It shows industry, painstaking, and much judicious use of the materials gathered from so many sources. It is difficult to write of the living, or the recent dead, as was your task ; and equally difficult to gather information for such a work. I think in both lines you have been a great success—a few minor defects and inaccuracies excepted, which no doubt you will correct in a second edition.

I deeply regret that so few have preceded you in this line, and hold it as a burning shame to the Catholics of the United States that the history of the early pioneers of the faith is yet to be written. John Gilmary Shea began such work and has been shamefully requited. De Courcy, Spalding, Bayley, have each done something ; but our history is not yet written. Who will write it, and save from permanent loss the materials so rapidly passing away in the deaths of the old who can tell so much ?

I fear much the spirit of the past is not in the present, nor is the heroism and zeal of the pioneers, that stirs the soul at its recital, repeated in their descendents. Your effort deserves success, it has won it for you in fame. Who will be your imitator ?

Yours very truly in our Lord,

✕ R. GILMOUR,
Bishop of Cleveland.

SOME NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

This large and handsome volume is one of the most exhaustive contributions to the local Church history of this country that have yet appeared. It is evidently a work of great patience and research * * * * * The author writes plainly and judiciously, without exaggeration or bias, and gives apparently a very accurate statement of the present position and prospects of the diocese and all its churches and institutions * * * * * The growth of the Church has been in cities and around manufacturing and mining works where it is of a fluctuating character, increasing when works prosper and dwindling away when they decline or stop. This nomadic character is detrimental to all ideas of home, and prevents all social and religious influence. In the plain, unexaggerated pages of Rev. Mr. Lambing, more than perhaps in any other work on the Church in this country, the thoughtful patriot can study this question, which has so vital a bearing on the future Catholicity and morality in the United States. * * * * * The progress of Catholicity is ably sketched, and the whole work is one that can be read with edification, and must be of service to all, and especially to the Catholics of the dioceses which it records so well.—*John Gilmary Shea, in The American Catholic Quarterly Review.*

"Father Lambing's book will be very interesting to Pennsylvania Catholics on account of the great fund of local reminiscence it contains; but what will give its greatest practical value to the general Catholic reader is the wholesome hints to be had from the detailed history of the various parishes and missions, which is frankly and fully told, whether narrating success or failure. It is carefully and accurately compiled, and must therefore be reckoned among the *most valuable and authentic documents pertaining to the ecclesiastical annals of our country.*"—*Catholic World*.

"As a comprehensive and interesting collection of historical facts it is a lasting monument to the great zeal and persevering energy of its author who deserves the gratitude of every Catholic that takes an interest in the history of the Church in our country. With a loving hand the Rev. author portrays the beginning and subsequent development of the Church in Western Pennsylvania; and this arduous work is performed with such minuteness of detail and such exactness of historical data, that the future historian of the Church in the United States will have but little trouble in correctly tracing the outlines of its history in this part of God's vineyard."—*Pittsburg Catholic*.

"Rev. Lambing deserves all praise for the work he has given us, in the patience and judgment he has shown in the use of the scattered materials he had in hand. It is *by all odds the best effort so far to write up the history of any diocese.*"—*Catholic Universe*.

"Father Lambing's volume is one that is in every way valuable; it is thorough and comprehensive, and its accuracy of detail is surprising; many of its pages read like a romance of the olden times. In his powers of description, Father Lambing is especially gifted, and so far from making of his volume a mere collection of dry facts, he has given us a work whose pages are all glowing with interest. It is one of the few books published in these days which will stand upon its own merits."—*Ace Maria*.

* * * The zeal with which he has conducted his inquiries * * * deserves our kindest recognition; whilst his exclusion of every statement, no matter how trivial, which cannot be supported by the most satisfactory evidence, demands our heartiest approval."—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

When we state that it will on account of the fullness of information and the literary treatment of the subject, command an attentive perusal as well abroad as inside the ranks of the Church, we but indicate the merit of the work."—*Pittsburg Dispatch*.

"A graceful and talented writer and a faithful historian."—*Buffalo Sunday Morning News*

"The volume before us will preserve from oblivion many facts that otherwise would soon have passed from human knowledge, and it also presents a vivid picture of how, from feeble and humble beginnings, the Church under the blessing of God has mightily grown and flourished in Southwestern Pennsylvania."—*Catholic Standard*.

"The amount of labor in getting up this work must have been something extraordinary, for it not only enumerates the various churches, convents, seminaries, etc., but gives an elaborate history of each, and also a graphic account of the manner in which the Church has been governed in the diocese from the beginning to the present time, in many instances describing the saintly lives of those patient priests who toiled day and night for the welfare of their flock, as the Apostles of the Gentiles says, 'in season and out of season.' This work will be a *most valuable one for all Catholics*, especially the clergy and the religious orders of the Church. *Too much credit cannot be given to the reverend author for his labor on this great work.*"—*N. Y. Tablet*.

"He traces the rise and progress of the two dioceses with a loving hand."—*N. Y. Herald*.

St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, O., July 12, 1883.

REV. A. A. LAMBING:

Rev. Dear Sir,

I have read some chapters of your "History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburg and Allegheny" and looked over some selected portions. All that I have seen of it has given me a great deal of pleasure.

Apart from the merits of its execution, I congratulate you and thank you for the example and encouragement you have given to all those who can contribute to the preservation of our early Church history. I hope that others will be found having like you, the good will and the ability to compile local histories as extensive as yours; and, as a preparation for such histories, it is much to be desired that every local Pastor whether a skillful writer or not, should to the best of his power collect all the written or oral reminiscences concerning the early history of his own congregation and the neighboring ones. Even if early records in desultory memoranda, they will be of great service to the future historian; particularly if the authorities on which they have been received be likewise given.

But the Pastor will do a much greater work, if he will write them or have them written out in such form that they may be published in the neighboring Catholic paper, or even in a secular journal. They will be interesting and edifying reading; they will stimulate others to collect and publish similar memoirs; and they will give an opportunity for criticising and either correcting or confirming, by a comparison of evidence.

Besides the work you have done yourself, I give you credit for much that I hope others will do after your example.

Your faithful servant in Christ,

† WILLIAM HENRY ELDER,

Abp. of Cincinnati.

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EPISCOPAL APPROBATION.

Having read the ORPHAN'S FRIEND, written by Rev. A. A. Lambing, of Our Lady of Consolation, Pittsburg, we have found it to be replete with the most sound and important doctrines. We have no doubt that its perusal will be of great benefit, not only to the orphans for whom it has especially been written, but also to all, and to the young especially. We therefore recommend this work to the faithful of our diocese.

✠ M. DOMENEC,

Pittsburg, June 27th, 1875.

Bishop of Pittsburg.

SOME NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

It was a good thought in the pious author to prepare this excellent little work.—*Catholic World*.

How beautiful and how effectively he has spoken must be learned from his own pages, which furnish a feast of instruction sometimes rich enough to savor of the honeyed doctrine of even so great a writer as the lamented Faber. * * * Like a mighty hand stretched out to save, like a guardian angel's ceaseless whisper, Father Lambing's book will accompany through all the walks of life the social waifs whose father and mother is God alone, and accompany them with a success commensurate with its exalted mission.—*Catholic Record*

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As we glance through the pages we are continually arrested by the judicious selection of the themes and the happy manner of their treatment.—*La Salle and Manhattan Monthly*.

This is an excellent little book, written expressly for orphans, by one who knows their wants, and knows too how to supply them.—*Ave Maria*.

The work is written in a clear and simple style, one which will readily come within the comprehension of the child, and instruct and please it at one and the same time. We cheerfully recommend it to those in charge of orphan children.—*Pittsburg Catholic*.

It is written in a clear, beautiful, Saxon English, and is very attractive in style.—*Catholic Citizen*.

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E. A. HIGGINS, S. J.

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I have examined with care the manuscript of Rev. Fr. Lambing's "Manual for Sunday-School Teachers," etc., and it affords me great satisfaction to be able to say that it is an admirable work, full of sound doctrine, judicious suggestions, and happy illustrations of the qualifications, responsibilities, etc., of Catechists.

JOSEPH C. CARRIER, C. S. C.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

Father Lambing recognizes the fact that teaching the Catechism is an art, and worthy of being seriously studied. Persons who have the direction of Sunday-Schools will find his work of great value. Let them get it, study it, see that the other teachers in the School study it likewise, and the good results will soon become apparent.—*The Catholic Standard*.

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Father Lambing has conferred a great benefit on the Catholic children of the United States by this Teacher's Manual. It is evidently the result of considerable experience, and an ardent devotion to the great work of Christian education.—*The Monitor and Guardian*.

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✠ JOSEPH DWENGER,
Bishop of Fort Wayne.

I gladly join in the above approbation of the Bishop of Fort Wayne.

✠ J. TUIGG,
Bishop of Pittsburg, etc.

God speed this excellent Essay ; may it be spread all over the land, and be read and seriously considered by all such as take a true Christian interest in the glory of our Lord, the prosperity of his church, and the salvation of America.

✠ AUG. MARIA,
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